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Approved For Release 2001/07/28 : CIA-RDP78-03061A000100030001-8

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331. Who Are the "Imperialists?"

In the recently concluded debate on colonialism, which began in the UN General Assembly on 28 November, the principal Soviet delegate, Valerian A. Zorin, tried to make much of the point that "colonialism" as he put it, "is not yet dead." Indeed it is not. At the UN, Zorin had the effrontery to say: "There are many countries... which are languishing under the yoke of foreign domination... Suffice it to look at the map of the world to see the remnants of the collapsed colonial empires scattered on it as the birthmarks of the past where the colonialists still succeed in keeping in slavery dozens of millions of people. Colonial wars continue to take their bloody toll there." But when David Ormsby-Gore, British Minister of State at the UN, came to speak of Soviet colonialism and of its "ruthless suppression" of nationalities, all the Communist delegates protested by loudly banging on their desks with their fists and Zorin accused Ormsby-Gore of "inadmissible interference" in Soviet internal affairs. He maintained somewhat feebly that in his own speech he had said "not one word about England." It is not the first time the Soviets, have shown such sensitivity (and vulnerability) on this subject. For, as Ormsby-Gore pointed out: "I have been shocked... by the manner in which the Soviet delegation and their friends have sought to pervert for their own purposes the deeply and genuinely felt desire for independence of so many millions of people... Since 1939, some 500 million people, formerly under British rule, have achieved freedom and independence, and their representatives sit here. In that same period, the whole or part of six countries, with a population of twenty-two million, have been forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union... In addition, the Soviet Union exercises economic, political, and military domination over millions of men and women in neighboring countries." The present Chicom efforts to enslave Tibet and to destroy the religion (Buddhism) of its people are closely modelled on the Soviet example in Mongolia during the twenties and thirties. The USSR obviously believes that at present it is still possible for the world's attention to be concentrated, for example, on Algeria and Rhodesia, while it carefully omits to draw attention to the vast African and Asian territories granted independence recently or in the past dozen years or so by Britain, France, the US, or other major powers of the free world. In fact, the time is fast approaching when Moscow and Peking will be clearly the world's residual colonial powers. Since 1945, no less than 38 nations with a total population of almost 800 million have gained their independence from Western colonial control. In contrast, since 1920 the Soviet Union has extended its control over 17 countries and 8 regions (parts of other countries) and the population of the areas involved totals about 840 million people. Moreover, since Stalin's death, the "Council of Economic Mutual Aid" has undertaken the reorientation of the economies of the East European satellites, so as to have them specialize in the particular products most desired by the USSR, rather than developing a rounded economy. — These countries are thus being made economically more dependent on the USSR — colonies not only in the political but also in the economic sense.

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332. UN Finances

One of the gravest crises currently facing the United Nations is the question of financing. As of 1 December, the regular 1960 UN budget was 81.61% paid up. Eleven members still owe \$3,275,108 for 1959, and several are in arrears for earlier years. In addition, the UN Expeditionary Forces (UNEF) assessments for the last four years (1957-1960) lag in the following percentages: 72%, 67.06%, 67.46% and 76.37%. To a major extent, the lag has been caused by the Soviet Bloc countries refusal to pay their assessed share for either the Suez Operation or the current Congo Operation. Even with the US paying up to 50% of the ONUC (Congo) costs, the UN faces an accumulated deficit of \$50 million overall through 1960 and between \$24 and \$28 million more for 1961. Current available working capital amounts to \$25 million. The USSR alone owes \$13,791,542, with other Bloc countries owing substantial amounts.

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333. Titoist Heresy in Denmark

In the Danish elections of 18 November 1960, the Peoples' Socialist Party (SFP), headed by Aksel Larsen - until 1958 First Secretary of the Danish Communist Party - received approximately 150,000 votes and won 11 seats (out of 179) in the Danish Parliament. At the same time, the Danish Communist Party received only 52,232 votes and lost all five of its Parliamentary seats. Thus, Larsen's indigenous Communist party, participating in the national elections for the first time, not only eliminated the Moscow-oriented Danish Communists from Parliamentary representation but succeeded in making itself a new force in Danish politics. In 1958, Larsen, who had been influenced by the revelations of the 20th CPSU Congress and the Hungarian Revolt, sent a memorandum to the Central Committee in which he demanded that the party adopt an independent line in its relations with the Danish government and with the Soviet Union. At the same time, he outlined a course of action for a "Danish road to socialism." Some of Larsen's principal points were: a) the party must be an autonomous, mass organization, a loyal and democratic opposition which helps shift public opinion and the axis of power to the left; b) the prevailing theories which see the party as an elite organization with a quasi-military base should be discarded in favor of a policy based on alliance with the leftist social-democratic groups; c) in foreign policy it should promote Denmark's eventual neutrality and initiate immediate action against the more negative aspects of the Atlantic Alliance; d) the internal changes envisaged by the 20th CPSU Congress have not been effected; there must be free exchange of opinion and debate among all party members; the party must condemn the excommunication of autonomous Communist movements such as Yugoslavia; e) the strongest propaganda weapon of the enemies of the DKP is their affirmation that it is not an independent Danish party but that it takes its orders from Moscow, that it unconditionally approves everything the Soviet government says and does, that it is ready to change its position every time the Soviet government does, and therefore, that it does not serve the interests of Denmark but those of the Soviet Union - thus, the Danish people think they cannot have confidence in the Communists because the latter get their political line from Moscow: without transgressing the laws of international solidarity and without stabbing the Soviet Union in the back, the party must free itself of the stigma of mechanically accepting everything that originates in Moscow; f) in its pro-Soviet propaganda the party has indulged in uncritical worship instead of realizing that in the building of socialism there are conflicts and antagonisms, advances and retrogressions - internally the Danish Party has based its political doctrine on certain works, particularly those of Stalin, without first ascertaining whether or not these works were really compatible with Marxist-Leninist theory; g) the crisis, the failures, the Soviet crimes against the very principles of socialism, revealed at the 20th CPSU Congress, constituted a hard and bitter lesson, but they teach that the existence of a socialist state does not automatically guarantee it against defects and failures, that in relations with other socialist parties and assessments of these parties, the Danish party must not be blind and accept and praise everything, but must accept responsibilities critically and form an independent opinion regarding the matter at hand.

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Larsen was relieved of all his duties within the party; however, he was permitted to participate in the subsequent party Congress, at which time he vigorously defended his platform despite the intervention of Pospelov, urgently sent out by Moscow to pronounce the official condemnation on the Danish "heretic." Larsen, as expected, was expelled, an action which marked the beginning of a crisis for the Danish Communist Party. Larsen, with the help of other dissidents, trade unionists and ordinary workers, organized a new party to carry out his program, an independent mass party which would have strong trade union representation. During the intervening two years, Larsen and his Peoples' Socialist Party worked to organize the party and prepare it for its emergence in the November 1960 elections. By successfully developing an autonomous and independent Danish Communist Party, Larsen has demonstrated to other non-bloc Communist parties that many workers and peasants retain a reservoir of sympathy for the Communist program, once the latter genuinely identifies itself with local and national aspirations and ceases to act as an instrument of Soviet hegemony.

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334. Red Flag Editorial in Peking Interprets Moscow Declaration

A Peking Red Flag (Hongqi) editorial on 15 December, entitled "A Great Call for Opposing Imperialism," is a comprehensive analysis of the statement issued at the end of the Moscow conference of 81 Communist parties. It vigorously emphasizes the Chinese Communist-inspired line of the declaration and pointedly omits and minimizes the Soviet line. The editorial is a clear expression of Chinese Communist views that peaceful coexistence and disarmament can best be achieved through local revolutions, liberation wars and militant mass action within the framework of the anti-imperialist program.

The most striking note is contained in the following sentence: "Our faith in the policy of peaceful coexistence is founded on the triumphant progress of the anti-imperialist struggle." The editorial emphasizes that the road to peace is through struggle and quotes Mao Tse-tung: "We fought the Resist-America Aid-Korea war precisely in order to achieve peace." The editorial emphasizes that the co-existence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle and goes on to say: "The victorious development of the struggle against imperialism is the most important guarantee for realizing lasting world peace."

The editorial points out that socialist revolutions are inevitable even though these may lead to war: "Communist party members strongly believe that if a war does not break out, all capitalist countries will follow the road of socialism as a result of socialist revolution." It then goes on to say: "While estimating that the people's force can tie the imperialists' hands and feet and can stop the war, one must also consider the possibility that imperialism will stop at nothing and forcibly impose war on the people."

Having quoted generously from statements made by Mao Tse-tung in order to show that the conference statement is in agreement with his own theories, the editorial says: "CCP members always follow this viewpoint (i. e. Mao Tse-tung's) regarding the question of war and peace and other important international questions." Thus, the editorial clearly indicates that Chinese policy will continue to be based on Mao's belief in the deterrent value of the increasing strength of the Communist bloc and of international communism.

The editorial carefully omits any reference to the Soviet language in the Conference statement to the effect that the main content of our time is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the October revolution and highlights the subsequent sentence which consists of the following clearly Chicom inspired language: "Ours is the stage of the struggle between two antagonistic social systems, the stage of the socialist revolution and national liberation revolution."

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335. Communist Statement Attacks Developing and Newly Independent Countries

The statement issued on 6 December by the conference of representatives of Communist parties in Moscow directly accuses a number of countries in the Near East, South America and Africa of unjustly keeping people in prison. In fact, reference is made here to people, mostly Communist party members, who have been given prison sentences for having carried on illegal or subversive activities in the countries named.

The statement declares: "On behalf of all the Communists of the world, this meeting expresses proletarian solidarity with the courageous sons and daughters of the working class and the fighters for democracy, languishing behind prison bars in...Iran, Pakistan, the United Arab Republic, Jordan, Iraq, Argentina, Paraguay, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, the Sudan and other countries."

The statement also criticizes the governments of newly independent countries for not establishing socialist states and explains that whereas the Communists are at the forefront of the struggle for independence, they believe that the only object of this struggle for independence is, in fact, to lead the nation toward a "national democracy" which means, in effect, a Communist-dominated state. The statement asserts that "the urgent tasks of national rebirth facing the countries that have shaken off the colonial yoke cannot be effectively accomplished unless a determined struggle is waged against imperialism and the remnants of feudalism by all the patriotic forces of the nation united in a single national-democratic front." The statement warns against those bourgeois elements which gain control in newly independent countries, stating: "Communists expose attempts by the reactionary section of the bourgeoisie to represent its selfish, narrow class interests as those of the entire nation."

Finally, in an outburst of unrestrained egotism the ultimate aim of Communist domination is summed up as follows: "The aims of the Communists accord with the supreme interests of the nation."

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2 January 1961336. YUGOSLAVIA: An Example of Communist Economic Evolution

On 27 December 1960, Yugoslavia announced a series of economic reforms which will establish a foreign-trade system similar to those of the West. They will institute a realistic single rate of exchange, a devaluation of the dinar and a liberalization of import controls, thereby exposing Yugoslav importers and exporters to the forces of competition. While the regime still plans to retain certain trade and financial controls, the reforms will permit far greater freedom for individual trade enterprises than is allowed by any other Communist country. Although no specific effective date has been set, the Yugoslav government will probably begin to apply the new dinar exchange rate as of 1 January 1961 when the new budget goes into effect. The customs and tariff system is also expected to be put into operation at that time. Plans call for the devaluation of the dinar from the current official rate of 300 to 750 to the dollar. Yugoslavia believes that the proposed foreign-exchange reform will help eliminate many of the disproportions in the Yugoslav economy which resulted from the old system of multiple rates. Under the single rate system, enterprises would be far more responsive to market forces, thus permitting investments to be made on a rational basis. Stand-by credits totaling more than \$275,000,000 have been pledged by the International Monetary Fund to build up foreign-exchange reserves and to meet an anticipated increase in the value of imports and a decrease in the value of exports. The US has pledged 100 million dollars as an agreement in principle, while a group of Western countries, including Austria, Italy, Britain, France, Switzerland and the Netherlands plus a consortium of West German banks, is contributing over 100 million dollars. Yugoslavia's willingness to abandon its standard, Communist state trading practices indicate that these have outlived their usefulness and are impeding economic progress. These plans also indicate that Belgrade believes its economic growth is dependent on continued expansion of trade with the industrial markets of Western, rather than Eastern Europe.

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